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771 insurgents, the Hapaw people (Ifugaw) hid their priest in the forest
177 for a considerable time; and I am sure that our Negritos and Isneg
797 would do the same to us if necessary. They are supposed to be inferior to the Christians in many respects, they themselves believe so, and the Christians do not fail to impress it upon their mind through word and deed: an Iloko or Kagayan has not respect for an Isneg, and again Iloko, Kagayan and Isneg oppress the Negrito whenever they can.

Now comes along a man who sympathizes with these pariahs, a man who understands them, a man who, although teaching a different religion, never ridicules them, a man who always puts them on the same level with other human beings, a man who is willing to live with them, to share their food and their mat, a man who learns their language and their customs, a man who takes their side even against the Christians when the latter are wrong: what can they feel but respect and even love for such an extraordinary being? Then add to this, in the case of the Isneg, their frequent intercourse with Christians and the patent superiority of the latter's civilization, which excites the ambition of the former, and it will not be wondered at that the priest and his religion are respected, that Isneg mothers bring their children for baptism just as the Christians do, that the Isneg youth wants to be instructed in Christian doctrine, and that Christianity is considered as the ultimate goal of a great number of Isneg young men and women.

183 Here among the Isneg I have never yet met with that strong
788 opposition to baptism, which formerly was so very common among
171 pagan Kankanay fathers and mothers in several of their villages,
177 and if the inborn indolence of the Isneg could be done away with, all
797 youngsters would be Christians within a very short time. In the
771 case of old men and women, although they rarely object to Christian-
178 ity as such, still they usually hold rather tenaciously to their tradi-
184 tional practices, which, however, does not prevent them at the same time from giving complete freedom to their offspring.

585 Last year at Namaltugan, two Christian Isneg intended to get
583 married; when the groom firmly refused to have anything to do with
177 native pagan customs, the relatives on both sides agreed to everything,
178 except on the question of the payment that had to be given to the
183 parents of the bride: on this they strongly insisted; it had nothing to do with religion, and so it had to be observed.

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Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

582 835

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

583 •

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

584

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

[582]

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

[585]

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This, however, does not necessarily imply that he has coitus with her, nor does it always signify that marriage will take place and that the engagement will not be broken. It simply means that he sleeps with her (*magkadorón*, "to sleep together"). All this goes to show that the parents of the bride generally know about the whole affair long before any steps have been taken on the part of the boy's relatives, so that they have ample time to put a stop to it, if they have any objections to the marriage in question. It is not rare even to hear the girl's parents tell the young couple, while they are together in the evening: "*Ará, manipatugnúlkayo no piyánnu ya maxatáwa*", "Hollo, have the *tugnúl* [which will be explained presently] performed if you want to marry".

No sooner has the young man obtained complete assurance of the fact that his love is being reciprocated by his sweetheart, than he informs his parents about the matter at the first opportunity. Should they object, he will of course insist as much as possible, at least if his desire to marry that particular girl is very serious. And if nevertheless his parents obstinately refuse to give their consent, then the boy will either break off all further relations with the girl and try his luck with somebody else, or the parties will elope and wait for better times to perform the customary ceremonies. And for some of them they will not have to wait long, as the parents of the girl will not fail to claim as soon as possible the payment which is their due.

3. Premarital Negotiations and Observances

In case the parents of the boy agree to his marriage with the girl he has chosen for his future wife, which of course is the general rule, they themselves from now on attend to further developments. And so there begins a whole series of transactions and ceremonies which I shall try now to describe as faithfully as possible.

Except where especially noted, everything is performed in the same way for any kind of marriage, whether the man be a widower or a divorcee, whether he be young or married already and attempting a second marriage. Nevertheless if the woman is a widow or a divorcee, marriage is very often contracted as in the case of an elopement, and the payment due to the parents of the bride is made after both husband and wife have been living together for some time.

And first, the *amómān*. *Maxamómān* in general means "to converse, to make a contract". In some districts, instead of *maxamómān*, the Isneg use the term *umuné-*, "to enter the house". In this con-

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584 583 nection *maxamómān* (or *umunᵈ-*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómān*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. In this connection the *sáyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómān* party take some *sáyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

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584 583 The first part of the *amómān* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgān*. Before dark the *patúgān* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dékat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dékat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dékat*. The *dékat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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584 strips of palm leaves, so as to form small, more or less brick-shaped
583 blocks.

Another member of the *patúgān* party is an elderly man, who occasionally carries one or more presents for the parents of the girl; these consist of one or more spears (*siñál*), headaxes (*aliwá*), etc. Sometimes clothes also are given on this occasion: jackets, headbands, blankets, etc.; these are then carried by the woman with the *simbá-*, who will be mentioned presently. These presents, however, are entirely supererogatory and are given only by well-to-do people.

584 The most important of the three is an elderly woman, whether
[789] married or widowed. In no case, however, may she be a *bálo* or widow in mourning, and the reason is not far to seek: such a woman could never bring happiness to the future husband and wife; on the contrary, she would merely serve as an ill-boding messenger and announce ahead of time the early demise of the man in whose behalf she asks for the hand of the girl: her recent bereavement would be a sure presage of the same contingency happening to the girl for
[602] whose hand she sues. This elderly woman is usually the mother of the boy; but in her default, another female near relative may do, for instance, an aunt, a first cousin, etc. If the prospective groom is a married man, his wife or, if he has more than one wife, one of
584 them, plays the role of the third member of the party. The latter
583 carries the *simbá-* (from *tabbá-*, "stringing beads"), which consists of one or more strings of beads. If the boy is of wealthy parentage, the *simbá-* is or are made of valuable beads. But this is not at all requisite: any beads will do, and even the most diminutive string of the smallest and most common variety of beads is sufficient for the purpose. With the exception of this last-mentioned woman, the *patúgān* are usually chosen among those relatives of the boy who are renowned for glibness of tongue, and with reason, as will be seen presently.

On the acceptance or non-acceptance of the *simbá-* by the parents of the girl depends the future of the two young people. Nevertheless a refusal is exceedingly rare, as the repeated nocturnal visits of the young man at the house of his future parents-in-law and his frequent staying overnight and sleeping with his girl, could hardly have escaped notice, and consequently the owners of the house could have notified him of their displeasure, long before such elaborate preparations, as entailed by the *amómān*, were completed on the part of the

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boy's relatives. Should the girl's parents refuse, however, the whole affair is nipped in the bud, and no further advances will be made by the scorned lady, the third member of the *patúgān* party. In this case the young people may take the law in their own hands and elope without further ado, or the boy may simply take the girl, in case the latter consents, into the house of his parents. This may happen even though a year has elapsed since the miscarriage of the *sumpád*. But just as in the case of refusal on the part of the parents of the boy at the time of the latter's engagement, with consequent elopement of the two interested parties, here also further developments will very soon have to take place, and a kind of *amómān* will not fail to be performed, because of the unwillingness of the girl's parents to forego the customary payment or *tádug*.

If the boy is wealthy, the other party is generally more or less exacting with reference to the value of the *simbá-* and its concomitant gifts. But the bearer of the *simbá-* is always prepared for such an emergency: she rarely proffers everything at once, and it may take much time and much talking before everything is finally considered as satisfactory by the relatives of the girl. In no case, however, do the *patúgān* hand over their gifts before their suit has been accepted: they merely show what they have, and the gifts change hands and become the property of the girl's parents only after a definite agreement has been reached.

After the *sumpád* has been brought to a happy conclusion and the *simbá-* accepted by the girl's party, the business meeting continues and other matters relating to the future marriage are discussed, the most important of which is of course the question of the *tádug* or price that will have to be paid by the boy's parents to those of the girl. It should be noted in this connection that the *tádug* goes to the parents of the girl and never to the married couple. This discussion is usually a heated one, especially when the *patúgān* have not been able to conclude the transaction before the arrival of the other members of the boy's party, which is the usual case. Indeed these generally arrive a couple of hours later than the *patúgān*, except when their residence is far from the meeting place, in which case both the *patúgān* and the other relatives of the groom may arrive simultaneously at the house of the bride's parents. Anyhow it rarely happens that the *patúgān* are able to finish this important business before the others take a hand in it.

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Whereas a banquet is almost always a part of the ceremony and *básí* usually flows freely, it is not to be wondered at that a few altercations and occasional hot words are interspersed in the conversation at regular intervals. Both parties of course look for their own interests: the one tries to get the largest possible amount of valuables, while the other is bent on reducing them to a minimum. Although the whole affair usually ends in a mutual agreement, nevertheless it may happen that at this juncture the meeting is broken up and that no further steps are taken toward the final marriage. Here, however, one has again to reckon with the two young people themselves, who may have set their minds very firmly on the attainment of their hearts' desire, and so an agreement may have to be reached, even though one of the parties is loath to conform. If nevertheless the *amómān* miscarries, the reason is usually to be found in the all too high price exacted by the parents of the girl, or on the all too low value at which the girl is esteemed by those of the boy. But here also the engaged couple may act on their own initiative, as has been explained when stating the case in which the girl's parents refused the *simbá-* beads during the *sumpád* ceremony.

It should be noted here that the relatives of the groom who take part in the *amómān* would hardly dare to start on this important expedition without having provided themselves with the customary amulets, lest some harm befall them. These amulets are called *talimúñáy*, and consist of certain herbs that remain the secret of the shaman.

Although by this time the Isneg know very well the use and value of currency, nevertheless in matrimonial contracts they stick to the old way of paying in kind, and so the *tádug* consists of what the Isneg prize above anything else, namely jars and beads. To these are sometimes added plates, clothes, etc., according to the agreement reached by both parties at the *amómān*. It would be very hard to say what is the regular price paid for an Isneg girl, as everything depends on the means at the disposal of the interested party, but one *xúsi* jar at least and a few beads should be considered as the very smallest amount that could be exacted by the girl's parents. It is not the place here to enumerate the numerous kinds of *xúsi* jars and beads, each with its own native name, that are known to the Isneg. Suffice it to say that not a few of these jars will be valued at fifty dollars, although from our viewpoint they may be worth less than one tenth of that amount; but our evaluation is not that of the Isneg,

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583 435 422 and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

583 435 422 353 415 178 523 All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of coarse earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

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584 583 591 During the *amómân* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

574 584 262 No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

584 574 562 All during the *amómân* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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585 263 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát*, as explained previously;

The *linazókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 583 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *mañlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 292 And now as to the *mañlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *saríkaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *mañlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxañito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básí* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Accurate notice is always taken of all the items given, their nature and their value, and also of the person who gives each object. On a similar occasion in the future, the donor will be repaid according to his own generosity or closefistedness. An Isneg is a very practical man: a gift as such is barely known to him; "it is better to give than to receive", is not understood by him at all. To an Isneg "to give" always includes the notion of "with the hope of getting back something at least equal in value".

Those of the guests who proffer neither *ákit* nor *tugnúl* are not allowed to partake either of the sweets or of the *bálat* (which is said to be sold); but they can eat any other food that is prepared for this occasion.

And then comes the presentation of the *tádug* or price agreed upon at the *amómăn*. The *tádug*, which is paid by the boy's parents and becomes the exclusive property of the girl's parents, may be given entirely at this juncture, but it very often happens that only a partial payment is made at this time, and that the rest is paid later, either all at once or in instalments. The latter course very often gives rise to vehement quarrels, as the groom's parents are bent on protracting the payment as long as possible, while those of the bride are anxious to settle the matter without delay.

And all the time bride and groom remain almost completely excluded from all participation in these ceremonies. They do not receive even the smallest present on this occasion, and as far as *ákit*, *tugnúl* and *tádug* are concerned, they are mere lookers-on.

All this goes to show that a girl in the family is a precious asset to the Isneg. Besides the *tádug*, the exclusive property of her parents, there are all the objects that go to her relatives at the time of the *ákit;* and all this in exchange for a pig, the *bálat*, and a certain amount of cakes. All that the relatives of the boy get out of it is partaking of a feast a couple of times, at the *amómăn* and at the *ákit*, and eating a few cakes, which after all are not so very highly esteemed. But they will have their revenge in time, of course, as they also have marriageable girls among their relatives. And so, everything considered, nobody is the loser, and certainly not the young couple: although they have received no gifts, their share of the inheritance is handed to them at this time by their respective parents, and then they have one another. Happiness, I dare believe, is very real on both sides, except perhaps in a few instances where one of them or both married merely to comply with the wishes of their elders. But

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST] 8

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his
584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews-
[534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the
[836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair, for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he
584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

They have a feast: rice
basi, and the greater part of a pig or dog are served. 584
Then business begins. The parents and relatives of 583
the youth, arrange the amount of the dowry, *todog*. 574
If it is of less value, the youth must stay in the house 262
of the girl. When the contract is agreed upon, it is strictly adhered to; and the youth and girl are said to be married.

The real ceremony, *aqueb*, then follows. The pa- 585
rents of the girl bring pigs and baskets of rice-cakes to the house of the youth. The girl comes in company with several old women. They all stop about one hundred yards from the house of the youth. There they are met by the parents or mother of the youth, bearing valuable gifts for the parents of the girl. The youth's mother then requests the girl from her parents. Upon approval, the whole company moves to the house, where the mother presents her gifts to the parents of the girl. The rice cakes are sold to the re- 735
latives of the youth, the nominal price being P1.00 per basket. Then the merry-making starts and continues through the night. The youth and girl must 784
not eat the sweets, as one of them would die. In the morning final payments of the dowry are made and distributed. Then the young couple are considered to be properly married, but still controlled by their parents.

When the young woman feels that she is about to 844
give birth, either the husband or the mother-in-law will twist a piece of cloth, light one end, and place it, the *pungan*, at the door. With it is the coconut shred- 42
der, *igad*. These guard the woman while delivering so that no *anito* can come into the house to annoy the

Bowa has always been getting dead human beings from graves for his food. 776

WIR-WER TAKES A MATE

The *anito* Wir-wer goes everywhere spending his time looking for the dead. Wir-wer lives on dead bodies which he digs out of the ground, excavating the graves of dead people. Limbobia is his wife. If there is a dead person, the priests call this *anito*, placating him so that he will not eat the corpse. [764]

A long time ago in Marágat all the children were on the ground after supper playing hide and seek in the dark. One small girl was playing, holding a firebrand. Wir-wer swooped down, grabbed her, and took her into the air. The girl cried, "Mother! Help!!" Wir-wer went through the air very fast to his house in the air. The mother, almost crazy, followed below just as fast. Wir-wer's house was a big cave full of valuable properties taken from graves of dead persons. It was in the forest, in Mount Anag. The mother was there when Wir-wer said: "You must give me beads". "Why do you want my daughter", she scolded. "To stay in my house," Wirwer replied. It was arranged that Wirwer should give her many beads for her daughter. She returned home loaded with so many beads that she could hardly carry them. He also gave her the seedings of the rice called *dumalay;* which most of the people now raise. It ordinarily takes about three days for a person to go from home of Wirwer to Maragat; but the woman made it in only a few hours. 583 776